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ABSTRACT

Art education has emerged in relation to a number of cultural influences. These influences framed school art in terms of four strands of purpose. The first strand is the use of art education for developing skills for a labor market. The second strand views the purpose of public access to art as cultural education and a leisure time activity for the middle class. The third strand concerns art as an illustration of moral character and aesthetic taste for the social person. The fourth strand conceives of art as healthful and creative self-expression. The stands have interacted historically and their conflicts have involved deeper issues of an American society involving conceptions of work and play, democracy and individuality, and what constitutes scientific and social reality. (Author)

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3 *Art Education as Social Production: Culture, Society, and Politics in the Formation of Curriculum*

Kerry Freedman

Abstract

Art education emerged in relation to a number of cultural influences. The influences framed school art in terms of a least four strands of purpose. The first strand is the use of art education for developing skills for a labor market. The second strand views the purpose of public access to art as cultural education and a leisure time activity for the middle class. The third strand concerns art as an illustration of moral character and aesthetic taste for the social person. The fourth strand conceives of art has healthful and creative self-expression. The strands have historically interacted and their conflicts have involved deeper issues of an American society involving conceptions of work and play, democracy and individuality, and what constitutes scientific and social reality.

Art emerged in American public schools in relation to a number of cultural influences. The influences included the social effects of industry, middle class life and thought, and social science in the decades near the turn of the century. Art education grew out of tensions between a desire for practical versus intellectual returns from public schooling, and the support or denial of a class-bound social system.

It is within the context of the social purposes of art education

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that we may understand the development of the school subject. Art was to meet the perceived needs of social groups who defined the functions and practices of schooling. The definitions gave direction to a shift in urban education from a mechanism for industrialist control of laborers to a vehicle through which the middle class supported its own values and beliefs.

The purposes of art in schooling may be considered strands that historically interweave; in different contexts, at different times, different priorities have emerged. The present discussion will consider four strands in art education in relation to American life and the functions of public schooling. The first strand is the use of art education for developing skills for a labor market. The second strand involves a conception of public access to art as cultural education and a leisure time activity for the middle class. The third strand concerns art as an illustration of moral character and aesthetic taste for the social person. The fourth strand conceives of art has healthful and creative self-expression. While the strands continually interweave and impinge up on each other, their conflicts involve deeper issues of American society: conceptions of work and play, democracy and individuality, and what constitutes scientific and social reality.

Skills for the Labor Market

Art became a state requirement in American public schools for industrial purposes. It began as a mandate for industrial drawing passed by the Massachusetts government in 1870. The law resulted from pressure by Boston industrialists for public education in industrial design. The legislative action was initiated by a petition signed by a number of influential businessmen, primarily involved in the newly developing textile trade.

The petition stated:

> Our manufacturers ... compete under disadvantages with the manufacturers of Europe ... At this time, almost all the best draughtsmen in our shops are men thus trained abroad ... In England, within the past ten years, very large additions have been made to the provisions, which were before very generous, for free public instruction of work men in drawing ... boys and girls, by the time they are 16 years of age, acquire great proficiency in mechanical drawing and in other arts of design ... men and women who have been long engaged in the processes of manufacture, learn readily and with pleasure, enough of the arts of design to assist them materially in their work. (*Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education*, 1871, pp. 163–4.)

The industrialists requested that drawing be required of all urban public school children, largely from immigrant and working class families, as well as being the subject of night classes for adults and teacher education.[1]

Although drawing education had been carried on in American public schools for over fifty years, there was a belief that the particular type of program needed by industry demanded methodological changes. Drawing had been handled by teachers who had little or no experience or training, was taught on an irregular schedule, and varied in procedure, philosophy and quality. However, there were a number of drawing teachers, locally and nationally, who could have been asked to coordinate the Massachusetts program. But, American art educators were not sought.

Massachusetts officials looked to England when they put the new law into practice. Boston's nineteenth century controlling classes had a reverence for English values and practices; English culture and fashion were in great demand in urban America. More fundamentally, England had little competition in areas of industrial production. The political and economic power that English production brought was sought by American industrialists.

The design education program at South Kensington in London was considered particularly successful by Massachusetts industrialists. Students graduated from South Kensington with skills in the design of textiles and other trade manufacturing. Traditional design patterns were taught in a procedurally defined manner that was to train students efficiently. Designers were to reconstruct popular forms and decorations that could be effectively applied to mass produced objects. Design, which had once been integral to production by a craftsperson, was taught in school independently of production. The student learned that the designer's task was not one related to the various parts of production on the assembly line.

Walter Smith, an English art teacher and headmaster who had been trained at South Kensington, was brought to the United States to oversee school drawing program development and teacher education in Massachusetts. Smith's knowledge of the English system of industrial design and his administrative capabilities fit the "needs" of

the school system. Smith had the management skills and sympathies necessary for the position which was politically tied to the aims of industry. The Massachusetts program soon became a model for a number of developing industrial states.

Industrial design education was to support the labor market in at least two ways. The first was through management. The design instruction followed a model of labor drawn from a managerial factory system. Industrial management broke the day of the worker into periods of time that had particular activities associated with them. Certain tasks were done at certain times and other periods were set aside for non-work activities. Students were to learn that their time and production were managed in school in ways similar to that of adult work in industrial society: time in school was relegated to particular subjects and tasks. In a similar way the procedures for drawing were timed and done step-by-step. Drawing in school was to train the eye, the hand, and the mind (making the parts of the body as separate as the parts of drawing) for the rigors of industrial work.

A second support of industry was the preparation of students for work. There was a concentration on training students in particular manual skills. Isolated skills were taught that were conceptualized and organized in ways to suit occupations defined by the market place. Students were also systematically deskilled. The priorities of design education only selectively allowed for the possibilities of competence and ingenuity. The training prepared students to accept what was considered productive by industrial standards.

Vocational skill training in design became integral to the emergence of art education. Public school drawing was based on the precise copying of illustrations drawn by adults. Children were taught the parts of shapes first. Drawings of individual shapes, and then objects, followed. The criteria for evaluation, that is, the accuracy of the copy, was measured with a ruler. Initially, children did outlines. Sometimes the teacher would copy a leaf outline, for example, in front of the class from a textbook, while the students followed her as she drew. Eventually drawings of great sculptures were studied so that children could copy form and shading. Finally, older children were allowed to do a whole composition of a pastoral scene. The use of color was not often allowed until the last year due to a belief that color would feed a student's desire for fanciful experimentation.

By the turn of the century, the notion that all public school children should be prepared for the work force through art diminished as manual training schools emerged. Schools specifically for manual training, in art and design media, became popular during

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the strong promotion of vocational education between 1905 a 1915 (Krug, 1969). The manual training schools were largely publ and attended by the labor class in urban areas (Bailey, 1909). It w believed that manual training could aid in assimilating urban in migrants through the use of crafts materials thought to be familiar them, such as clay, wood and metal. The materials, once part rural culture, had become the media of industrial production.

Manual training became an issue of shifting class differentiati after the turn of the century. Although students gained proficiency the technical skills of particular jobs, a concern developed about t exclusion of aesthetic issues in manual training, and a lack of techni training for the middle class immersed in a developing aesthe awareness. In the journal *Handicraft*, Ross (1903), stated,

> ... we have all the fine impulses where there are no abilities to follow them, and all the ability where there are no fine impulses ... the people of education, of judgment, and the people who have merely technical training and ability form two distinct classes ... and these classes have almost nothing in common, have, indeed, very little to do with one another. (p. 232)

The emphasis on the artistic possibilities of manual training h a dual social purpose. In a 1909 edition of *Craftsman*, Sercon indicated that art was to relieve class tensions through enhanceme of the vocational preparation of industrial laborers and aid in t understanding of manual activities for the middle class. Mam training in arts and crafts media was to acquaint well-to-do boys w activities done with the hands.

The Quest of Culture and Leisure Time

Near the turn of the century, the purposes of public art educati changed in a number of ways in relation to new interests defined the middle class. As well as easing tensions between the middle a lower classes, public school art was to neutralize differences betwe the middle and upper classes. The quest for middle class enrichm was seen in the movement toward a public liberal education. Pr viously, the liberal education of the private schools and colleges h been for a privileged few. Middle class parents wanted pub preparation for their children who would then be sent to institutio of higher learning.

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The Aquisition of Culture

A vision of the good life developed as part of middle class consciousness in nineteenth-century America. Middle class life became more secularized. To live well became not so much for the sake of redemption in a life hereafter. Rather, worldly knowledge and the appreciation of natural and human creations became the symbols of a quality life.

Good living was to involve the acquisition of culture. Nineteenth-century America 'contained a particular idea of culture as a privileged domain of refinement, aesthetic sensibility, and higher learning' (Trachtenberg, 1982, p. 143). A new middle class hoped to achieve reputations as people of culture through the study and collection of art objects. Culture represented the financial and social success of higher living, and higher living was an indication of progress (Krug, 1969). Public education had the responsibility of preparing the laborer and the housewife for social life in industrial society by stressing the aquisition and appreciation of a higher standard of living (Kingsley, 1914). The rich were not only to be respected for their wealth, they were also the caretakers of culture and higher learning.

As the desire for the transmission of high culture emerged, there developed a belief that great works of art should be easily accessible and appreciated by all. The foundations of the public institutions of culture were laid in pursuit of this goal. In a mere decade, beginning in 1870, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Art Institute of Chicago were established. Although the museums were public institutions, the organization and administration of the museums were handled by the wealthy.

A shift in the belief that fine art was a concern of the upper class was illustrated by the introduction of art appreciation in public schools. Studies in art appreciation had previously been held at the college level, initiated in 1874 at Harvard. The original courses were to aid wealthy young men with their choices of art investments. When art appreciation became part of public schooling, it was to support the acculturation of the middle class. Fine art could not be presented in public school as a subject for the elite.

By the 1920s, educational reformers promoting scientific programs were to take issue with the idea that school should include cultural education. According to the reformers, schooling

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was to include only those subject areas which would ultimately result in efficient social functioning. Snedden (1927) saw culture as 'intellectuality, aesthetic superiority, refinement, and non-practicality ... there appear to be no conscious and concrete demands for cultural education' (pp. 240–241). It was Snedden's belief that workers were to 'seek out' (p. 247) culture in their free time.

Art as a Leisure Time Activity

The emergence of art as an independent subject in American education did not originate in public schools. It began as private instruction. One early example of art training for children was the needlework classes in private girls' schools (Winkelman, 1985). Young ladies, with well-to-do parents, were given instruction in designing and producing decorative flourishes with the needle. The courses concentrated on ornate surface decoration unrelated to the function of the object. Instruction in needlework was to prepare girls for the practical duties of womanhood. Part of those duties was to make the home pleasant and attractive. Decorative needlework beautified the well-to-do home.

Private instruction represented art as not tied to work duties. Although needlework design and production were considered pleasurable and an indication of a girl's quality, they were unnecessary activities suited for ladies who had time on their hands. The courses in needlework supported attitudes concerning the role of a lady and provided parents with an identification of their status.

Art moved toward democratization as the concept of leisure changed after the turn of the century. The preparation of students for activities not associated with labor emerged in public school art. With the development of middle class consciousness, and due to technical changes such as a shortened work day, came the conception of time away from work as leisure time. American individualism offered the possibility that anyone, who would work hard and with ingenuity, had hope of financial security. After putting in a day of restricted work activity, an individual was alotted time for pleasure. Leisure time was to be a release from the tensions of work.

The productive use of leisure time became a social concern. The Kingsley Report of 1918 specified that school was responsible for preparing the individual for meritous leisure. In *The Shaping of the American High School*, Krug (1969) quoted the report of the Com

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mission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (the Kingsley Report) in stating: 'Leisure, "if worthily used," would enable the individual to "recreate his powers and enlarge and enrich life, thereby making him better able to meet his responsibilities". Contrawise, "unworthy" use of leisure would impair health, disrupt home life, lessen vocational efficiency, and destroy civic mindedness' (pp. 387–8).

The concern about leisure time reflected shifting interests in schooling in at least three ways. In one way, leisure time was for the achievement of high culture which, as discussed, had become a vital interest of the middle class. Art as leisure was to prepare students with an appreciation of what should be valued as culture.

Second, art had a particular place in the new conception of fragmented time and self. The efficient use of time became a social priority. It was argued that science was replacing art in the vital issues of life, but that art could be reserved for recreation (Snedden, 1917). As an adult, the socially efficient citizen would budget time for culture (Krug, 1969). Instruction in art was to aid cultural scheduling.

Third, there was a concern for a working class with free time on its hands. It was believed that the development of an appreciation for beauty would 'take the place of less wholesome pleasures' (Course of Study for the Elementary Schools of Oregon, 1911, p. 50, from Kern, 1985). The suggestion was that art would make productive use of otherwise unproductive free time.

Molding the Good Citizen

The moral education of children was taken over by a secularized mass schooling during the industrial revolution. American urban public schools were conceived of as having a responsibility for the moral development of immigrant children which were to adopt the new values of industrial labor (Handlin, 1974). In the late eighteenth century, immigrants, largely from rural Europe, settled in American cities. The development of the new urban population of industrial laborers saw changing social relations. The school became responsible for conveying conventions of civility previously passed on through family, community, and religion. The particular values supported in public schools were carefully chosen, not to support learning as we currently define it, but rather to prepare the child for moral citizenship and industriousness.

Picture Study: Art as an Illustration of Morality

Picture study programs emerged during the 1890s and lasted through the 1920s to support the didactic objectives of public schooling. The art education was to raise the morality of public school students by illustrating good and moral character. Picture study focused up on the depiction of moral activities or stories in artists' work.

There was an explicit religious flavor to the art education. Religious pictures were shown as cannons of morality and beauty. In the North Dakota state curriculum of 1927, for example, art was to instill a 'love of truth and beauty developed through study of God's handiwork in nature and achievements of men', (p. 14, from Kern, 1985).

The particular conception of moral values in school art was shaped by the assumed responsibility of the individual. Children of American workers were schooled in the moral trappings of polite society, for which they had a personal obligation to strive. Art illustrated lofty values such as loyalty, thrift, and family responsibility. The values were considered important for social behavior in home and work life. The good citizen and laborer would learn the virtues of obedience, punctuality, and efficiency through picture study.

Picture study was made possible through the development of new technologies that reproduced pictures cheaply and in color. The printing processes were developed largely to fulfill advertising needs and then used to produce inexpensive reproductions for people who could not afford original art. The pictures used in school were often made for commercial purposes and were overly sentimental, such as, pictures of a 'perfect' child with his mother or wild animals tamed by human influence.

There was debate as to whether the low quality of the reproductions would somehow diminish the perception of a good original, or whether even poor reproductions could carry the essence of the art, to students (Stankiewicz, 1985). The pictures continued to be shown in school because the quality of the picture was not as important as its moral message. Further, most art teachers had never seen the original works of art that were reproduced, so they were unaware of how different the copies were from the original.

Good Taste and A Community Art Education

To some extent, an objective of art in the public schools was, from the beginning, to train the masses in a particular notion of good taste. In 1879, Walter Smith wrote, '... good taste in design, which sound instruction in drawing imparts to the creators of industrial products, is of general interest and pecuniary value in manufactures ...' (from Wygant, 1983, p. 226). Thirty years later, the first sentence of the initial report on Instruction in The Fine and Manual Arts in the United States made to the National Bureau of Education stated: 'Art instruction aims to raise the standard of taste' (Bailey, 1909, p. 7). It was assumed that the taste of American public school children was bad and that education would improve the quality of art production and taste in consumption.

Change in art education was tied to shifts in American conceptions of good taste. The presentation of aesthetic values in school changed in relation to adult tastes. Taste, in turn, reflected various positions in society, as from an indicator of popular culture, to a form of elitism. Further, taste represented numerous implications in the social life of the individual. How far and how fast the future adult would go not only relied on competency and morality, but on social appearances as well.

Near the turn of the century, Social Darwinism was incorporated into discussions of changing aesthetic values. Fine 'quality art was judged to be so 'naturally'. In 1903, Walker wrote of the 'natural selection to a high standard of excellence and to the choice of fine art' (p. 30). He was concerned about the lack of taste of his contemporaries due to new reproduction technologies and 'the consequent supply along the lines of least resistance, that is with the rapid, inferior, cheap work of many, rather than the comparatively occasional masterpieces of the few' (p. 31). Art became commodified as there was a concentration on the mass produced object rather than on the unique creation of the artist.

The training of students in the visual elements of taste and prestige focused on the study of masterpieces near the turn of the century, but was illustrated in art curriculum by a concentration on furniture arrangement, clothing, and landscaping by the 1930s (see for example, Kern, 1985). During the 1930s, an urban elite notion of art was rejected in favor of a social realism concerned with rural community and mass popular culture. For example, much of the art funded by the Federal Art Project portrayed the life and work of the laborer.

In Owatonna, Minnesota, education in good taste took the form of a project funded by the Carnegie Foundation that sought community involvement. The project began in 1933 and was initiated by the Dean of the College of Education at the University of Minnesota, Melvin Haggerty. Haggerty (n.d.) conceived of the project as a unification of school and community efforts to upgrade the aesthetic sensibilities of Owatonna citizens and to enhance the local environment. The project involved various opportunities for study and production. Funding paid for curriculum development, for guest speakers to come into the community, and for adult night classes that were free to the public.

Owatonna became a primary example of a philosophy of art in everyday life that emerged in the 1930s. During the depression, art education became centered on the beautification of the working family's surroundings. There was a use of inexpensive materials to make the home more aesthetically pleasing at a time of great economic hardship. The Owatonna elementary school art curriculum included instruction in making decorative objects for the home, such as, a cleanser can cover and paper holiday ornaments.

Part of Owatonna's educational horizon was the industry of the community. Children in school were to develop an appreciation for, and technical skills in commercial art and industrial design. Art lessons were based on consumer and industrial interests such as making posters that would 'create a desire for a product' (Owatonna Art Education Project, *Second Annual Report*, 1934, n.p.). *The Fourth Annual Report* of the Project (1937) included a high school unit involving commercial architecture which taught students of the 'poor conditions of commercial design' in America, that the 'possibility of renting store and office space makes it profitable to build structures of considerable height and size in restricted commercial areas', and that important technological advances could be seen in that 'intensifed research has developed and elaborated methods of display, advertising and publicity' (pp. 405–6). There were also studies of local landscaping, gardening and interior design.

Although the original premise of the project was to focus on the art interests of a community, and for the art teachers involved with the project to be 'guides, rather than masters' (*Owatonna Journal Chronical*, 1933), conflicting messages came from the experts. A particular notion of good taste was embedded in the art curriculum and in the adult classes and lectures. For example, the objectives for a lesson on making a decorative map of Owatonna were to 'give experience in selecting good architectural design ... and to increase

appreciation of architecture' (Owatonna Art Education Project, *Second Annual Report*, 1934, n.p.). The lesson included copying simplistic, stereotyped patterns of tree shapes. Continual references were made to efficient, well-balanced, inexcessive design in everything from gardening to the free expression of young children.

Art education as learning good taste had at least three messages. Two of the messages were that the conception of taste presented in school was class-bound and that experts defined and managed good taste. A third message was that the form of good taste had become a commodity.

To this point, three themes have been discussed. The themes have conceived art education as labor skill training, as culture and a leisure time activity, and as an aid in shaping the moral and tasteful citizen. The fourth, and final, theme is the presentation of art in school as a necessary form of self-expression.

The Healthy Individual and the Scientific Study of the Child

By the end of the nineteenth century, a struggle had developed between a believed need for individual autonomy and a perceived threat of anonymity due to mechanistic production (see, for example, Lears, 1981). A sense of mass industrial conformity and political consensus confronted, and often conflicted with, a belief in American rugged individualism which depended on a supporting interest in independent democratic values. The confrontation was seen, in part, in the emergence of new middle class notions of career, professionalism, and a social science (Bledstein, 1976).

Public schooling reflected the changing consciousness, in part, through a focus on the individual. Individualism responded to a belief about life advancement defined by the middle class. The concerns were for the perceived rights, needs, and powers of the individual. The rights of the individual included public schooling to the fullest capacity of each student. The needs of the individual involved free self-expression. The powers of the individual were to include the functional use of education and innate abilities for a career.

After the turn of the century, the conception of the individual became an organizing principle for art education. Individuality was to be realized in the form of objects. Technical skill plus self-expression equaled art. The student had a responsibility to learn selected aspects of art and to perform them in the decided manners.

A child was believed to contain unique qualities when the performance was considered an indication of talent.

The Idea of Art Talent in School Children

The belief that children could freely produce artifacts of aesthetic value emerged near the turn of the century. School was to develop talent in the child. Although some public documents held that public art education was to 'consider the needs of the masses rather than the advancement of the talented few' (Course of Study for the Elementary Schools of Pennsylvania, 1918, p. 119, from Kern, 1985), there was also a call for special consideration of the gifted. The goal was 'to discover and develop exceptional talent, so that the gifted students may develop to their best potential' (Idaho State Course of Study, 1915, p. 17, from Kern, 1985).

The movement of public school curriculum toward a discovering and nurturing of art talent developed in relation to middle class values. From the early decades of this century, the notion of giftedness in schooling sought to support that which was valued by the middle class. The public school was to enable children to develop their unique identity through the development of their latent abilities. The development of art talent was for personal pleasure, and economic and social status.

The conception of talent in art education had particular social definitions. American entrepreneurial thought supported the notion of genius and individual achievement. However, talent in art was not discussed as a social construction tied to the aesthetic taste of the time. Talent was viewed as inherent in the individual and without social context. It was believed that those people who created objects of beauty and culture had innate capabilities that were beyond normative definitions. Success in developing technical expertise in art or an awareness of art through family access to high culture were conceived of something special in the child.

An appreciation of the work of the individual was also seen in the study of pictures in school. The artist was conceived as personally struggling to produce an object of greatness. The artist created a masterpiece through a combination of talent and diligence.

The Science of Artistic Development

Conceptions of the individual were closely related to the emergence of social science. Social science became a way of viewing dynamic qualities of social life as stable and concrete. As will be discussed, changes in the individual were to be understood in terms of discrete and predictable properties. The predictability became a prescription for action in social life.

One of the early research programs in social science to have an impact on art education was the child study movement. Through the work of G. Stanley Hall and others, child study began to affect art education near the turn of the century and has continued to be influential. The 'help from psychology and psychiatry on the problems of the primary and kindergarten years' that child study provided was considered vital to art education (Wiecking, 1928, p. 261).

Child study required the adoption of 'the scientific mood' (Drummond, 1907, p. 9). The scientific mood included conceptions of psychology and biology which reflected the influence of a Darwinian conception of evolution. In adopting the scientific mood, 'it matters not what branch of biology is chosen for study ... the greatest thing is that the student learn to see things for himself; to learn to make sure what he really sees and what he does not see' (p. 15). What became important was the crystallization of possibilities into facts.

A consequence of child study was the scientific analysis of child art. Much of the child study research was based on samples of children's drawings which were collected and interpreted as data. From those studies and from later research, psychologists and art educators constructed theories of artistic development.

Child study understood children in terms of psychological constructs of development. There was an assumption that children grew universally in relation to a normative progression. The drawings of children were decontextualized to be interpreted as illustrating stages of growth not related to sociohistorical location (see, for example, Lowenfeld, 1947; Schaefer-Simmern, 1948). Contained within the framework of artistic development stage theories was the assumption that child art unfolds naturally.

Child study research in artistic development was to change methods of teaching (see, for example, Drummond, 1907). Interpretations of the developmental stages were to be the foundations of art curricula. Developmentally based arguments were raised against

technical, segmented drill. Art education was to allow children to 'begin with the human form, animals and other interesting things' (Drummond, 1907, p. 280) that exploited children's 'natural' interests and desire to draw. Teachers facilitated art by providing materials 'and by showing them how to improve their work' (p. 280) which still largely meant representation based on adult standards.

Creative Self-Expression and Therapy

The idea that children could make expressive art, and the notion of expression itself did not become an issue in public art education until after the turn of the century. Until that time, expression in art referred the potency of a work of art in representing a particular aspect of the world (Wygant, 1983). The 'projection of the self' (p. 134) was not yet within the realm of artistic expression.

In the decades following the turn of the century, school art was to build the self-esteem of the child. 'We have begun to realize that handwork is valuable not only for its product in things made, but also for the effect upon the maker' (Dobbs, 1917, p. 2). Self-esteem became tied to the notion that school art was therapeutic; art was to make children develop a sense of self-worth. It became important for school to provide the individual with opportunities for artistic success.

> From any point of view it seems but a statement of a self-evident truth to assume that the school should employ such a variety of mediums of expression that each pupil could do at least one of them with fair success ... (p. 7).

By the 1920s, success became tied to conceptions of the creative process. The quality of the artistic experience, rather than the quality of the child's art product, was supposed to become the primary focus. Evaluation of the creative process was determined by what was believed to be the free expression of the child.

However, expression was to be indicated by presence of ideal formal and representational characteristics of the product. During the 1920s and 1930s, expression in child art could be viewed as a map or an imagined pastoral landscape. For example, a child could 'build up a ... Greek Landscape ... imaginatively and artistically. He will easily then eliminate non-essentials because he has no object

present with which to compare, whereas if he tries to paint the Brooklyn Bridge he may be dashed by his inability to have the cables absolutely right' (Steele, 1939, p. 53).

An influential philosophy of expressive child art was that of Franz Cizek, an Austrian art teacher. Cizek's influence was brought to the United States through traveling exhibitions of his students' work. The exhibitions began in 1919 and continued through the 1920s.

Cizek's believed that art education should involve as little instruction as possible (Viola, 1936). He proclaimed that children should be free of adult imposition. Adult influence would inhibit a child's natural ability and desire to be expressive.

Although Cizek professed a belief in uninhibited expression as art education, his methods were not as free as he claimed (Duncum, 1982). He taught in an explicitly demanding, even domineering, manner. Cizek did not allow adult art to be present in his classroom for fear that the children would be influenced. However, the students invoked familiar cultural images in their work. The art of Cizek's students had a particular stylized look that closely resembled the adult popular aesthetic in Austria at the time.

Cizek's methods were transformed when they became immersed in American Progressive Education in the 1920s. During the decade before the 1920s, an influx of contemporary European works of art and publicity about a new order in avant-garde imagery was seen in the United States. Expression in art took on a new meaning that included highly abstracted forms of representation. The art community was no longer to define art solely in terms of skills in representation. 'By 1920, alert art teachers were aware that nothing short of an artistic revolution had occured in Europe, and they could see its growing influence on American artists' (Chapman, 1978, p. 11). The bold use of form, color and painterly brushwork of twentieth-century Western European painters influenced art in school.

The social function of school art toward creativity and self-expression became a central concern of the Progressive Education movement. Artistic activities were to allow children to express themselves freely and children's natural expression would result in aesthetic objects. Like Cizek's discourse, the language of Progressive Education stated that children were to be free of adult inhibition, in order to achieve the results of natural expression. The book *Creative Expression* (Hartman and Schumaker, 1939), written for the Progressive Education Association, stated:

> With very young children practically all the teacher has to do is to give them art materials and plenty of time to paint. They are fearless with color. They need no technique. They have much to express pictorially and, above all, they have perfect unself-consciousness, since no adult standards have as yet interfered with their ideas. (Steele, 1939, p. 51)

The same book began with a chapter titled 'The Creative Spirit and its Significance for Education' The author stated:

> That is the title suggested by the editor. My own preference was 'All God's Chillun Got Wings' until I remembered that all God's chillun are not permitted to use them . . . the wings of God's children are gradually and painlessly removed. (Mearns, 1939, p. 13)

Victor Lowenfeld, who became perhaps the most influential art educator in America, supported self-expression in art education. Lowenfeld came to the United States in 1938, escaping from the German invasion of Austria. He was 35 years old and already a prominent educator. In the United States, Lowenfeld taught at the Pennsylvania State University and developed the first research doctoral program in art education in the country. Through the university program, as well as numerous publications and presentations, Lowenfeld defined the theoretical foundations for much of the research still current in art education.

Lowenfeld was greatly influenced by his European child study training and his colleagues in art and science. A number of respected researchers and teachers, including Cizek, have been credited for the foundations of his work (Michael and Morris, 1985). Among the influences were psychologists James Sully, one of the first scientists to study child art (publishing possibly the earliest book on the subject in 1898) and Karl Buhler, who introduced experimental method to child study. Other influences included the work of George Luquet, who studied the differences in styles of child art done in school, and that done spontaneously.

Lowenfeld established a particular psychological framework for teaching and research in art education that more completely crystallized the conception of art as what was natural and necessary in children. Child study directed his interpretation of the imagery of children as a stage model of artistic development. Lowenfeld viewed the mission of art education as meeting particular needs of children. He stated:

> (Children's) needs must be discovered from the very beginning. Without imposing upon our children adult standards, we should be able to promote their own efforts, their own potential abilities that are slumbering in them (Brittain, n.d., pp. 21–2).

Lowenfeld's conceptualization assumed that art would be valuable in awaken something dormant in the child. The value was in the positive feeling the child would have through the form of production termed creative. Art education was to function as a release from the pressures of contemporary society and the necessary impositions of schooling. Self-expression through the artistic process was to be included in school to develop healthy individuals in a psychotherapeutic sense.

Conclusions

The strands of school art have developed in relation to the purposes of various public interests. The argument has been made that art emerged in urban public schools of this country largely to promote lower class labor to satisfy industrialists' needs. The interests of art education shifted as it became a vehicle through which the middle class supported its values and beliefs.

Social goals conceived of as natural for all who came to school. A fundamental issue in the development of art education was the transition from the aquisition of cultural skills and appreciation as ways of elevating one's social status to a conception of personal growth and healthy development of the productive individual.

The interiorization of the social priorities were directed by developments in social science and the notion of individual. Moral education through art was transformed into moral development considered independent of schooling. Moral training in school was replaced by an emphasis on a growing autonomy of the individual. The individual became personally responsible for her or his beliefs and activities. The possibilities and responsibilities of child art in school were defined by social science. Psychology modified traditional conceptions of moral schooling by treating values as if they were objective realities.

With the conception of socially disconnected qualities of the individual, the child became the 'owner' of talent and expression. Not all children had talent, but it was conceived that all had the potential

for expression. Concern was raised if the child did not indicate through production of an object, that she was expressing herself. The child was responsible for expressing values and beliefs.

These conceptions responded to ideologies emerging in larger society. What were considered 'natural', uninhibited qualities and rights possessed by the individual, became purposes of school art.

Art education involved a number of conflicts related to the notion of scientific schooling. There was an inherent contradiction in social science applied to art education; the science appeared to be neutral and yet addressed questions that were value-laden. The struggle was not only in relation to the content of curriculum, but also to questions of efficiency in learning. At the same time that art educators continued to perceive a therapeutic purpose to instruction, curriculum became more systematic. Part of the struggle emerged as art educators looked more to the art community for resolutions of curriculum issues. The art community did not often seek efficiency.

The history of school art may aid in the understanding of contemporary developments in art education. The trends of history are the foundations on which the present is built. Aspects of the early strands of school art have resurfaced in more recent program and curriculum discussions.

Art curriculum has continued to be defined as something naturally ordered in relation to the development of the child and conceived of as information ordered in a rational way. Theories of artistic development placed the drawing behaviors of children in a rational framework. The rational structuring of often non-rational behavior for non-rational ends, such as the free expression of children, has been a continual conflict in contemporary art education. Art curricula have commonly been framed in terms of isolated media, subject matters, or what have been conceived of as objective art elements, such as line, shape, and color.

The emergence of the scientific in public art schooling has resulted in a number of contemporary developments. Two further examples must suffice. First, during the 1960s, professionals in the arts disciplines were asked to define the art concepts that should be included in public school art education (Chapman, 1978). A movement toward the professional art community as a resource for curriculum design occurred during the decade before.[2] Seeking curriculum answers from the content area professional community had a dual quality. The involvement of artists was to include the social life of the non-scientific subject area, but the formulation of the request implied a reductionist research method and a reverence for

professional knowledge that has been closely tied to the development of social science (Bledstein, 1976).

Second, the first national examinations to assess art knowledge and skills were given in the 1970s. The examinations were based on stringently defined concepts and values, such as whether or not an aritst had the right to experiment in a particular way and whether or not a particular composition was more creative than another, and were in a standarized testing format. The success or failure of the students at a given location were to indicate changes needed in curriculum.

Although the history of American art education has been relatively brief, it has involved transitions relating to some complex issues. Early public school art curriculum content and methodology were selected in relation to particular social priorities. The more contemporary shifts in art education have been no less culturally located.

Notes

1 The students most affected by the Massachusetts Drawing Act were public school children and working class adults. The public schools in Boston were to educate lower class, immigrant children. Only about one in five children born in Boston between 1863 and 1865 was not a child of immigrant parents (see, for example, HANDLIN, 1974).

2 The 1950s included the popularization of abstract expressionism, the first international avant-garde art movement to develop in the United States. Since that time, American rather than European culture has been in vogue.

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